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underground organizations. He requested that these persons be isolated from the other workers and that the proper organizational measures be taken. A commission, made up of members of the SED Central Committee and the State Security Service, was formed to compile a report on "The Situation in the FDGB." At the beginning of September, this report was submitted to Ulbricht.

The findings of the report are disastrous. It states that since 17 June the FDGB has been unable to collect about 40 per cent of its membership dues. Nearly one million compulsory members, most of them without any party affiliation, simply let their membership expire. In (order to combat the insistent) question: "What is the FDGB doing with our money?" the press has been ordered to print interviews with workers returning from FDGB vacation homes.

The commission established another, even more alarming fact. The FDGB is suffering from "diversionist infiltration." Ex-SED members, expelled prior to and after 17 June, and dismissed party officials most of them old-line Communists or "Titoists," have found a haven inside the FDGB. The only FDGB offices still operating are those run by these men. These offices have connections with the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation and with opposition groups in the West German Trade Union Federation (DGB) which are against both Moscow and the DGB leadership.

Wherever there are such offices of the FDGB in nationalized industries of the GDR, they have the support of the workers. Despite personal visits by Politburo members to these plants and despite large-scale operations by the State Security Service, the Federation headquarters has been unable to replace these diversionist functionaries with others who are loyal to the party line.

Discussions with these opposition groups can be risky even for functionaries from FDGB headquarters. Alex Stark, the former deputy chairman of the FDGB, had been arrested in 1951 and replaced by Rudolf Kirchner; later, he was rehabilitated but is now back in jail. He dared to attack an opposition group at the "Bau-Union Nord-Ost" [a nationalized construction firm] at Torgelow. However, in his discussion with the old trade unionists there, he fared very badly. Consequently, he was accused of "opportunism and defeatism" and arrested by the State Security Service.

The Central Committee of the SED has now discovered that trying to win discussions with FDGB opposition groups is useless. The best agitators and the most experienced Communists are using the FDGB as a cover. Many of the old conspirators of the prewar KPD (Communist Party of Germany) are organizing an underground anti-Soviet movement within the FDGB.

As an example, the report of the commission cites the fact that the entire courier service maintained by the strikers on 17 June 1953 was operated by the railroad workers' union which, since it had the technical facilities at its disposal, also immediately contacted the West German trade unions.

Wherever private and political liaison broke down during the 17 June uprising, the FDGB opposition groups formed "revolutionary staffs." The possibilities for operation of these staffs must have been so far-reaching, that they prompted Ulbricht to make the remark: "Although they never did any political work before, a lot of trade union functionaries suddenly become amazingly active on 17 June!"

After Ulbricht's attacks, Warnke immediately called a conference of the FDGB leaders in August. That conference brought some startling results. Regional FDGB headquarters presented demands by the workers which practically amounted to demands for the resignation of the government, and FDGB functionaries appointed by headquarters were thrown out by the workers and their predecessors were reinstated. Files containing conspiratorial material and belonging to the FDGB West Commissions disappeared, and Communist members of the West German DGB, who had illegally

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participated in FDGB meetings, such as August Mueller of Wuppertal, Paul Freitag of Wanne-Eickel, and Helmut Bartsch of Berlin-Tiergarten, suddenly found themselves exposed by such FDGB files supplied by unidentified sources.

Those whom the FDGB had selected to subvert West German trade unions turned out to be active in the DGB and to be in contact with Titoist trade union groups. Warnke commented: "For the first time in its existence, our whole organization is at stake. If we do not take energetic action, the FDGB will turn into a Fascist underground organization."

It should be noted, however, that both Ulbricht and Warnke were aware of the fact that the FDGB had become a camouflaged resistance organization of the rebels of 17 June even before the commission submitted its report.

FDGB circles now believe that Warnke will be replaced by his deputy, Rudolf Kirchner, who has much better connections with the MGB offices at Karlshorst and is very highly thought of by Ulbricht.

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